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directions to contributors, they "supply help to the student not material to historians" and are, in approximation at least, "not a burden to the memory but an illumination to the soul".

It seems to me that Mr. Temperley has written an admirable account of the age of Walpole and the Pelhams. Walpole seems almost like a personality. Sufficient space is taken to develop his main measures and to relate them to the prevailing mercantilism. Though the account is favorable to him, his shortcomings and the ineffectiveness of his system to meet changing colonial conditions are freely exposed. The dictum that politically the colonies had little to complain of before "the crucial year 1750" may not be accepted by those who attach some importance to the prevailing unsatisfactory conditions between appointed royal governors and elected provincial assemblies. The chapter on England (1756-1793) by Michael, Rigg, and Griffin, may be designated as one which meets the purpose for which it was written. Professor Michael's view of the elder Pitt is without the shadows cast on his motives between 1763 and 1765 by the biography of Ruville. That the three writers should occasionally lose their way in the maze of party factions and misplace the affiliations of a statesman (*e. g.*, Newcastle should be substituted for Bute, p. 419) is less a reason for criticism than the rigid adherence to a somewhat antiquated interpretation of British colonial taxation after 1763 (p. 432) and the failure in this and Mr. Temperley's chapter to throw any definite light on the institutional history of the cabinet in the eighteenth century.

That these twenty-four monographic chapters give no adequate survey of Europe on the eve of the Revolution, no unified view of an age that had greatly conceived, greatly sinned, and greatly failed, is not a harsh judgment. Indeed, the editors, if I read their introduction aright, feel that they are presenting here not the eighteenth century but only volume VI. of the *Cambridge Modern History*.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Bernstorfferne og Danmark: Bidrag til den Danske Stats Politiske og Kulturelle Udviklingshistorie 1750-1835. Af AAGE FRIIS. Volume I. Slægtens Traditioner og Forudsætninger. (Copenhagen: Det Nordiske Forlag. 1903. Pp. 447.)*

*Bernstorffske Papirer: Udvalgte Breve og Optegnelser vedrørende Familien Bernstorff i Tiden fra 1732 til 1835. Udgivne af AAGE FRIIS. Volumes I. and II. (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1904, 1907. Pp. xvi, 818, 95; xii, 708, 86.)*

THE Bernstorff Papers certainly are among the most important Scandinavian publications of recent years; their importance is not confined to the history of Denmark but extends to the whole field of European history in the eighteenth century.

The Bernstorff family gives a typical instance of the extreme

internationalism reigning in the period next before the Revolution. In those days it was an almost daily occurrence that men of the upper classes passed from the service of one country to that of another, regardless of ties of kindred and nationality; at least in continental Europe patriotism in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist, or existed only in very rudimentary form. Many a gentleman then might well have taken the same device as one of the Bernstorffs chose for himself: *Patria ubique*. Very few, if any, of the wandering politicians of the eighteenth century reached such a lasting influence and position as the Bernstorffs, suddenly rising from the fameless life of Mecklenburg gentry.

The first man of that family to obtain an important position was Andreas Gottlieb Bernstorff (1649-1726), the most remarkable statesman of the Brunswick-Lüneburg countries in modern times. He was the prime minister of the Elector of Hanover from 1709 until his death, and when the Elector, 1714, went to England as King George I., Bernstorff accompanied him as his leading councillor; he was, indeed, prominent in English politics, the head of the "Hanoverian Junta", until the awakening national jealousy of the English nobility drove him away, 1720. He it was who, by the Family Statute of 1720, laid the economic as well as the moral foundation of the great work of his descendants. His grandson, Johann Hartwig Ernst Bernstorff (1712-1772), found Hanover too narrow a field for his ambition and went, 1732, into the Danish diplomatic service; the united kingdoms of Denmark and Norway ranged in those days still among the powers of Europe, and as Danish secretary of state for twenty eventful years (1751-1770) this first Scandinavian Bernstorff played a prominent part in European politics. In 1758, he drew his nephew, Andreas Petrus Bernstorff (1735-1797), into the same service, and this younger member of the family, perhaps its most splendid representative, became also Danish secretary of state for a period that revolutionized not only Denmark, but all the world (1773-1780, 1784-1797). These two Danish ministers indicate the zenith of the Bernstorffs in importance as well as in ability; but their star, although declining, has still kept itself visible on the political firmament throughout the whole nineteenth century. One of the sons of A. P. Bernstorff, Christian Günther Bernstorff, succeeded his father as secretary of state for Denmark (1797-1810) and, in conformity to the traditions of the family, changing his country, accepted the offers of the King of Prussia, whose secretary of state he was for the years 1818-1832. A nephew of his was the prominent Prussian minister Albrecht Bernstorff (1809-1873) whose life, by Dr. Ringhoffer, appeared recently in English (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIV. 584-586), and whose son last year came as German ambassador to the United States.

Dr. Aage Friis, of Copenhagen, won his doctor's degree in 1899 by a highly interesting book about the activity of A. P. Bernstorff

during the years 1772-1780, founded upon much new material; later, he has extended his researches and has brought forth from private and public archives a vast mass of hitherto unknown documents, concerning especially the two great Danish Bernstorffs. In 1903, he published the first volume of a large work (in Danish and German) about the Bernstorffs and Denmark, the second volume of which has been announced for 1910, and in 1904 he began publishing the series of Bernstorff Papers, planned in seven large volumes, of which the first two have already appeared, while the third is announced for 1910. This series also exists in both Danish and German editions.

The account of the work of the Bernstorffs in Denmark will in a great measure cover the political, social, and intellectual development of the Danish people in the whole period 1750-1835; the Bernstorff family furnishes a most pregnant instance of the peculiar interweaving of German and Danish society in those days and represents, in Denmark, that spirit of social reform that animated all Europe of the eighteenth century. Dr. Friis's first volume gives only the introduction, the rise of the family, and its diplomatic beginnings until J. H. E. Bernstorff becomes Danish secretary of state, 1751, and A. P. Bernstorff goes into Danish service, 1758; it concerns itself chiefly with the elder Bernstorff and his diplomatic activity in Germany and France (1733-1750). The author evinces great ability in depicting the social background; his style is a little broad, but brisk and richly colored, and we are justified in looking forward to a most interesting work.

The Bernstorff Papers do not include, except to a very limited degree, properly diplomatic or official documents; they give mostly letters of a more or less private character. Most of these are written in French, some parts in German, very little in Danish. Mr. P. Vedel published in 1882, in two volumes, the *Correspondance Ministérielle du Comte J. H. E. Bernstorff, 1751-1770*, and in 1871, the confidential correspondence between J. H. E. Bernstorff and Choiseul, 1758-1766. But this is not to say that Dr. Friis's publication is of less importance. The first volume contains correspondence between J. H. E. Bernstorff, his brother in Germany, and the latter's son, A. P. Bernstorff, covering the period 1740-1772 by more than nine hundred letters. The second volume gives the correspondence of J. H. E. Bernstorff with fifty-nine different persons, mostly high Danish officials from the king downward, but also such foreigners as Choiseul, Madame de Pompadour, Voltaire, Klopstock, and others, altogether more than six hundred letters from the years 1732-1772. The next three volumes are intended to bring forth the correspondence of A. P. Bernstorff, the two last volumes a selection of the papers of Christian Günther Bernstorff and his brother, Joachim Frederik Bernstorff.

The letters of J. H. E. Bernstorff and A. P. Bernstorff throw an interesting light on the personal and political development of those two great statesmen; especially the instructions which the older minister gives his nephew for his travelling abroad illustrate clearly their

moving principles. They were indeed both among the first practical politicians to grasp the modern ideals of international relations; repeatedly the elder Bernstorff urges upon his disciple a morality in politics quite contrary to the then prevailing ideas and imbues him with dreams of peace which, in after years, the younger Bernstorff endeavored to realize in his work for the rights of neutrals—therefore, in the year 1780, he felt himself in a condition to write to Benjamin Franklin as to a fellow-worker for international justice (see the *Writings of Franklin*, ed. Smyth, VII. 324).

The Bernstorff correspondence presents to the student a remarkable international gallery. It gives many interesting glimpses into social and political life in Italy, France, and England, as well as into country life in Germany. I think American historians will be most strongly interested in the new material given about Choiseul. He is very often mentioned in both volumes, and in the second volume are printed forty-seven letters from him to J. H. E. Bernstorff, most of them from the years 1750–1756. During his stay in Paris, 1744–1750, Bernstorff formed an intimate friendship with Choiseul, then young and unoccupied, and more than once, in his letters, the future French leader addresses the older friend as *mon maître*. Bernstorff distinguished the powers of the young loafer, “homme vif, satyrique et agissant, mais plein de sens et d’esprit, fait pour jouer un grand rôle dans le monde, ou pour périr à la peine” (letter of 1755, I. 141). The friendship of the two statesmen was of no small political consequence, and kept them firmly together until a rupture finally occurred in the year 1770. Of paramount interest is the detailed report of the Danish representative, Martin Hübner, about his negotiations with Choiseul at the end of 1759 respecting the war with England (II. 277–297); Choiseul planned to send Hübner to London as his secret peace agent, and on that occasion we learn what conditions he then thought of for ending the war. Hübner is himself a remarkable man, advanced, and an able scholar in international law. In a letter from London, 1754 (II. 271–273), he gives a pointed account of the intellectual and political conditions of England, and here he expresses the same idea that in the following year, Governor Shirley and the young John Adams commented upon, that England would be able to preserve her American colonies as long as she could maintain her mastery of the seas. The correspondence does not give many other references to America; I notice that Choiseul, 1750, speaks about the “*prétensions des Anglois en Amérique*” (II. 627), and some information may be found concerning the Danish West Indies (see the indexes under the names Pröck and Roepstorff). The two big volumes are still somewhat inaccessible, because the indexes, conforming to German practice, only comprehend personal names; I hope that the editor, in the last volume, if not at an earlier juncture, will add a subject-index in the good English-American way.